

OBSERVATIONS

On a Pamphlet entitled

A Defence of the Rockingham Party,

WITH THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

FREDERIC LORD NORTH.

THESE

OBSERVATIONS

Contain also a Defence of Lord **SHELBURNE** from the
Charges brought against him, not only by
the Author of the Defence, but also
by the various anonymous Writers,
who have engaged on the same
Side of the Question.

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NOTICE

TO THE PUBLIC

OF THE

STATE OF

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A Defence of the Rockingham Party,

&c. &c. &c.

IT is no difficult matter for an author to become respectable in the opinion of careless readers, when he forms his own data; and, laying aside fair argument, enforces his doctrine with positive assertions in those points which perplex the subject, and are not easily settled with advantage.

The writer of the Defence of the Rockingham Party in their Coalition with the noble Lord in the Blue Ribbon,
B bon,

bon, seems to have been aware of this; when, laying reason aside, he appears studious rather to please his friends, than to give real information to the impartial and unbiaſſed.

We ſhall therefore take the liberty of examining the work before us; and advert only to ſuch parts as are eſſential towards elucidating the queſtion; leaving him to enjoy unmoleſted the expectations ariſing from the triumphs of party.

After a trifling exordium, he puts a few interrogatories; and thinks it unnecessary to answer them, though they appear of ſome magnitude; and ſhould have been diveſted of that force they moſt powerfully convey; as they ſpeak a language to the underſtanding not eaſily weakened, or obliterated by political ſophiſtry.

And firſt, “ *Has not this perſon (Mr. Fox) for years attacked the noble Lord*
“ *in*

" in the most unqualified manner?"

Yes.

Secondly, *" Is there any aspersion,
" any insinuation, that he has not thrown
" upon his character?"* No.

Thirdly, *" Has he not represented him
" as the WEAKEST MAN, and the WORST
" MINISTER, to whom the direction of
" affairs was ever committed?"* Without
doubt.

Fourthly, *" Has he not imputed to his
" PREROGATIVE PRINCIPLES, and his
" palpable misconduct, the whole cata-
" logue of our misfortunes?"* It cannot
be denied.

Fifthly, *" If such men as these unite
" for the DETESTED PURPOSES OF AM-
" BITION, what security can we have for
" ANY THING VALUABLE that yet re-
" mains to us?"* None.

Sixthly, “ *Is not this the very utmost reach of FRONTLESS PROFLIGACY?*”
Very near it.

Seventhly, “ *What dependence is to be placed in the man, who has thus GIVEN THE LYE to all his professions, and IMPUDENTLY flown in the face of that honest unsuspecting virtue, which had hitherto given him credit for the RECTITUDE of his intention?*” Not the smallest portion.

We have here given the most laconic answers, which could be thought of, to these queries, *without one sounding exclamation*; and were they enlarged upon, a train of reasoning would arise, which would not perhaps redound greatly to the honor, or emblazon the character of this wonderful genius, and upright senator.

It would be unnecessary trouble, and mere waste of time to revert back to all the various public speeches of Mr.
Fox,

Fox, in order to prove the truth of these interrogatories respecting Lord North; they must be engrafted in the memory of every dabbler in politics, from the frequent repetitions we have been favoured with. We shall not therefore be thought guilty of any breach of propriety, if we place them here as facts not to be controverted, and from hence enter upon our subject.

Men, who have publicly avowed their principles for a long series of years, and acted consistently and uniformly on them, must be supposed to have weighed the consequences very minutely: and, from retaining them, must be considered as being perfectly satisfied with their justness and validity. Now it is to the difference in the principles of these two COALESCENT SENATORS, that we may impute all the jarring with which the House of Commons has so long been pestered;—all the confusions, in which our towns and counties have been involved;—all the murmurings which have been
issued

issued from a discontented people ;—nay, perhaps the calamities which our unhappy country has so severely experienced. This difference must be considered as the first fundamental cause, from whence Lord North has appeared to merit the various stigmas thrown upon him by the *honorable* Commoner ;—from hence the variety of accusations have arisen of guilt and infamy, with all their concomitants, which he has so lavishly bestowed upon the noble Lord ;—for in order to confirm his principles, and enforce the documents from thence originating, he has painted Lord N—th as guilty of numberless actions, with a warmth of resentment and in terms the most vehement and pointed.

It has been the honorable Commoner's endeavour *constantly* to persuade us, that from the prevalence of these principles, he was induced to believe the liberty of this country in danger ;—that, unless curbed in the very beginning, prerogative would have gained unbounded

ed

ed power ;—its influence would have increased ;—and instead of enjoying the blessings of our charter, and being free subjects, we should have become a land of slaves, the creatures of tyranny and oppression.

As if impressed by a fear of approaching injuries, and roused to opposition from the dictates of an honest heart, Mr. Fox established himself the guardian of the people, and has repeatedly pledged himself to exert his faculties *only* for their security, against the *machinations of corruption* and *monarchic cruelty*; in the former of which Lord N—h has been avowed deeply versed ; and to the latter as having the strongest propensity.

Supposing these true ;—supposing Mr. Fox actuated by motives so agreeable to the complexion of the times, his determined conduct of resistance may be looked upon with a favourable eye ;—the pretext carries plausibility along with

with it;—but surely, at the same time, they afford the most cogent reasons, which can be adduced, against a coalition with such a man, the most dangerous enemy to the rights of that people, he was ostensibly struggling to protect. Whatever excuse may be framed for so extraordinary a manœuvre, I cannot avoid doubting its reality;—it lives not in truth;—it has no existence in sound policy.

Can it be conceived that a man should take a serpent into his bosom to avoid his sting? Can it be imagined that a man will relinquish the idea of corruption, who has ever been its immutable devotee? Can we indulge the 'most distant expectation,—that a man, who has been constantly militating against the liberty of the subject, deprived of power, should be again reinstated for any good or wise purpose;—or that he should act in conformity to one, who had gained the people's confidence, because his views were to appearance diametrically

metrically opposite in national concerns?—Can we be weak enough even to hope, that he, who has always been the steady advocate for monarchy, will lose sight of his favourite project, and become solicitous for that freedom, his very principles urge him to destroy?—The warmest friends of this unnatural union cannot support any argument in its favour;—they may labor to blind their undiscerning partizans;—but those who are blessed with common penetration must laugh at the ridiculous attempt, and despise the supporters of so contemptible a system.

But indeed some there are, and not a few, and those of the first abilities, who conclude the effort of defence on the simple principle of candid examination so very absurd, that they have metamorphosed THIS FORMER DEVIL into a present God;—and now he lives the most upright,—downright Being our kingdom ever knew.

C

I would

I would not be understood to give my real opinion in this place of Lord North; or determine whether he merits either of the characters with which he has been favoured by his advocates of this day. The reason of my inserting these sketches, is to shew how truly paradoxical their conduct must appear; and, by those means, we may be led to discover the real motive which gave rise to this alteration of sentiment in the *same party*, with regard to the *identical individual* in the very æra, when similarity of principle and uniformity of action were considered as essential towards promoting the grand effect of public good;—and where any deviation, either in one or the other, had been declared, so repeatedly, as most likely to produce the worst consequences.

A short history of the honorable Commoner's conduct towards the noble Lord, will shew the improbability of his really meriting, *in his opinion*, the character he now condescends to flatter him

him with ;—that the report of the noble Lord's conversion is truly farcical, propagated merely as an apology for his own delinquency ;—or that his opposition has been always the result, more of a factious, than patriotic spirit. If Lord North had been a man of that intrinsic worth, he is now represented ; it is not in the least probable that he could have merited that opposition he met with, *in every attempt*, during his administration. For it may be advanced with certainty, that no plan, in which the noble Lord was supposed to have any concern, was ever embraced by his opponents ;—or was he ever assisted in carrying them into execution : but every obstacle thrown in his way, which could alarm his timidity—retard his schemes—or destroy the intended good effect of his operations. One unvaried scene of resistance attended him through all his labors : and we find him loaded with the severity of gross abuse, —the charge of consummate ignorance, —and considered, as a man versed in

subtlety—a minion's pander—the child of treachery—determined to subvert the very principles, upon which our envied constitution formed its happy basis. A firm adherence to measures calculated to stop the progress of such a painful, destructive innovation, as Mr. Fox ever held up to view, were very flattering to a people, who wished to preserve their rights inviolate; and could not fail of rendering men, who were pursuing them with an apparent strenuousness, acceptable to the multitude.

It was so certain a position with the honorable Commoner, that he never in all his debates, all his harrangues, once forgot it; but whatever the subject, in which he thought proper to exert his oratorical abilities, on this ground he took care to rouse the resentment of the people;—and, careless of the consequence accruing to his country, endeavoured to render the Minister odious, and all those, who acted under his influence, or co-operated with him from
a con-

a conviction of their own rectitude. The horrors of ERNULPHUS's curse were not then thought too severe for our *now virtuous convert*.

It was the pride, the glory of this hero of the million to create confusion. With what intent can it be supposed he sanguinely pursued so distressing a purpose, at a time when the nation was involved in a complicated war? A war, where different powers were uniting with our revolting subjects;—where our former allies added to the weight of our calamities by their unnatural junction;—where our sister kingdom took the advantage of our weakness;—and where the neutral powers stood aloof, smiled at our misfortunes in hopes of reaping profit from our ruin?—At a time, when every hand and every heart should, forgetting private interest, have united all their power to have aided the instruments of government, against so tremendous a confederacy? It will not be said the welfare

fare of the country was the motive ;
 —we cannot harbour so contemptible an
 opinion of the *abilities* of the man of
 the people, as to suppose he could ever
 think, *whatever his pretence*, that fo-
 menting internal broils in the councils
 of an oppressed nation, could be pro-
 ductive of any general good ;—for to these
 may AMERICA attribute her freedom ;—
 IRELAND her emancipation ;—FRANCE
 and SPAIN their successes, and HOLLAND
 her escape from that punishment, she
 so justly merited.

There remains not a doubt, but the
 thirst of power was the consideration
 which stimulated him to wage this *senatorial*
 war. For amidst the perplexities
 of a kingdom, he knew the want of suc-
 cess in its directors, was sufficient to
 create dissatisfaction ;—that the clamors
 of the people were most likely to pro-
 duce a remove of ministers ;—and that
 the advancement of those, who procu-
 red that end, must be the natural result.
 And what so certain to effect these pur-
 poses as national commotion ?

The

The man of candor, who reflects but for a moment, will require nothing more to convince him of the truth of these conclusions. But let us trace this honorable Commoner a little further; we shall there find him playing the same game with some of his own party, the object of his wishes still unaccomplished; and if we discover him deserting those, who held nearly the same political tenets with himself, at least what he pretends to hold, and joining with one whom he considered peremptorily inimical to them, we shall not then need any stronger confirmation.

By kindling the flame of discontent amongst the people, and increasing it, almost to its utmost violence; he at last procured what he so long had lusted for, a dimission, or resignation of ministers: but from parties being divided, no one seemed to have strength enough to set their favourites at the head of affairs. An union must be formed to throw the balance into one scale, in
order

order that it might sufficiently preponderate, *as if it declared* the wishes of the people. In this our hero was successful; but turbulent spirits stimulated by ambition, seldom rest long satisfied unless seated on the very pinnacle of power; or so circumstanced, that they may be able to direct, and govern the grand wheel, under which, those of less order in the machine, should move in a subordinate capacity. The Marquis of Rockingham was however happily formed of such pliant materials, as suited his purpose; and had not fate put a period to his existence, probably the reins of government might still have remained in his hands.

But his death made it necessary to supply the place. Lord Shelburne, who, in the hour of distress and danger, has too much fortitude, as well as too great strength of natural and improved abilities, to become the dupe of a party, or the torpid instrument of passive compliance, was thought on, approved, and

and appointed—*Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* This was considered as a mortal blow to the ambitious views of Mr. Fox; resignation was his choice,—the tongue of resentment full-fraught with invective, was again commanded to play, and the subtlety of invention to practise her art on the ear of credulity. Lord Shelburne was represented as harboring principles derogatory to the interests of the people;—They were made to believe the foundation on which the new administration was fixed in power, would not be regarded;—That Mr. Fox could only wish to rise or fall in support of the rights of the public;—That the peace, as framed by the noble Earl and his coadjutors, was incompetent to the force of resistance, still remaining in our hands;—that it was weak,—scandalous,—inadequate,—and humiliating to the dignity of the British empire; and that a vote of disapprobation was necessary on that occasion.

D

What

What was now to be done? How was this grand point to be effected? The interest enfeebled from which Mr. Fox had gained support, and by which he only could expect to attain his wishes; some other expedient must be adopted.

The Bedford party was not to be depended upon—The Scotch party was inimical to his views;—there was but one resource. He must fly to the man whom he had reprobated—whose principles he had declared his aversion—whose conduct had been disgraceful, and dangerous—the association with whom he had so often, so openly execrated—whom he had considered as the curse, and ruin of this country—with whom no man, who had a love for his fellow citizens, or their privileges could, on any consideration, form a junction—Nay, for his own part, with whom he would not sit under the same roof.

Yet

Yet we find, this UNION, *so horrid*, he has formed—by this very UNION has risen to power, which is expected to be satisfactory to the community: And this UNION is to prove him a wise senator—an upright man—a lover of his country, and a friend to the people. Credat Judæus!

How can any man have vanity, or effrontery enough to suppose we can swallow such glaring absurdities?

Mr. Fox opposed a bad man, for the good of his country. Mr. Fox unites with this very man for the same purpose—This is the brief report of his friends.

I wish the conclusions would stand the test: Truth speaks a very different language.

Mr. Fox opposed this bad man, to get into power. Mr. Fox joined this very man, on the same account.

If this very concise view is suffered to remain in the memory, the mystery in which his conduct is enveloped will be cleared away; it asks no further aid than that of common sense, to discover the REAL SOURCE from whence all those political effusions, with which he has so blinded his friends, proceed, nor are the arguments, which have been advanced to favor this COALITION, by any means, satisfactory to those, who think seriously and dispassionately on the subject.

We shall however examine them very candidly, divest them of forced construction, and then let the odium fall with full force upon men, who labor more to deceive, than inform. We shall then be convinced of the necessity of watching this very honorable member through his ministerial progress; that, if he should attempt to be an unjust, he may not be a mischievous minister.

The

The three propositions on which they lay their whole stress in vindication of themselves are these.

First. *“ That the Rockingham connexion, was the only connexion by which the country could be well served.”*

Second. *“ That they were not of themselves of sufficient strength to support the weight of administration.”*

Third. *That they were not men whose services were most likely to be called for by their sovereign.”*

Now the objections, which are stated to those men with whom the Rockingham party so lately moved in concert, are, that they are suspected of being supporters of regal and aristocratic power. — That they are declared enemies to innovation and reform, particularly Lord Shelburne; who seems to be the object, from whom our author wishes to draw the good opinion of the people. But before we examine the validity of these,
it

it will be necessary and useful to say a few words respecting the constitution.

It has ever been considered, since the establishment under the present mode, as the happiest in its formation, that we know of; as it consists of three different powers, so limited, that one shall not encroach upon but assist the other. King, Lords, and Commons united, form the political trinity: each have their restrictive limitations, from which they ought not to deviate.

Now in the perfect unity, and perfect obedience of these states, consistent with the regulations by which they are restrained, depends the purity of government; and it is prudent in one, as well as the other, to maintain their respective privileges against every encroachment, for that should never happen but by consent.

If no bad use therefore is made of the regal or aristocratic power, why should they

they subscribe to the wishes of disappointment and disaffection? Why men, pushed on by the madness of faction to the aggrandizement of some few inconsiderable individuals, should be submitted to, is a doctrine the rectitude of which we cannot conceive. Were innovation, and reform necessary for the well-being of any community, some excuse for the attempt might be allowed: But where they are avowedly contrived to weaken superior power, only for the purpose of raising a party on the ruins of the constitution; it becomes the duty of manly national virtue to make vigorous opposition.

Such has been the conduct of Lord Shelburne; a friend to the constitution, and to every proper reform; an enemy only to those schemes, which advance a party, at the expence of the crown and the people. The various plans adopted by him are the numerous proofs of our assertion. Circumstanced then, as matters appear to be, no man can sub-

submit to the author's opinion, nor consider the Rockingham connexion, the *only* connexion by which the country can be well served. Let us take his own data which he thinks necessary to form a good administration.—Liberal principles, respectable abilities, and incorruptible integrity.

Can it be allowed, that

A Thurlow	} are inferior to	A Portland
A Shelburne		A North
A Pitt		A Fox
A Howe		A Keppel?

By no means. We now take their qualifications in the aggregate. With respect to liberality of principle and incorruptible integrity, all disinterested men will consider them as more than equal; and as for abilities, the comparison will not demand a moment's enquiry. We speak from the general opinion of their public conduct, for their characters are so universally known, and stand so conspicuous upon public record,

record, that it is unnecessary to delineate them. Nor indeed is there one argument advanced to turn the scale in favor of those he wishes to espouse. He talks much of monarchy and reform; but does not prove that one has ever been offensive, or the other called for, in so extensive a line, from absolute necessity.

With regard to respectable abilities, we are led to believe, he means, that those of the first Lord of the Treasury, should be of so moderate and pliant a nature as to render him the dupe of inferior agents; for he exercises all his logic against the Premier, who durst think for himself;—and applauds him only, “ *whilst he acted with much apparent consistency in one line of conduct, for near ten years together: and this most plausible period of his story,*” is whilst he coincided with the Rockingham party.

Nothing can mark the bias of this writer more strongly than this sentence; for from the time of Lord Shelburne’s de-

E

viating

viating from the wishes of Mr. Fox and the author's party; from that moment he becomes the object of his disgust,—no longer fit for public trust;—in proof of which he exercises his ingenuity, and produces a number of allegations against the noble Earl. In examining these with the utmost impartiality, the conclusions do not strike us, as fairly drawn from the premises; had we said, not at all; we should have done greater justice to that character at which he aims his envenomed shafts. But in public controversy, it is too often the case to labour at loading the opponents with delinquency, in hopes, that in proportion as the charge is aggravated, the purity of the intentions of the contending party will be advanced in the eye of the world. This seems to have been the idea in the enumeration of the crimes laid to Lord Shelburne's account: we scarce conceive them errors; though from them he infers, “*that the noble Earl is a man, dark, insidious, and in- explicit in his designs,—no decided friend*.”

“ of

*“ of the people,—and in both respects a
 “ person very improper to conduct the af-
 “ fairs of this country.”*

For the purpose of investigating these allegations with propriety, and precision, we shall specify them in the following order.

The first and second may be arranged under one head.—There he is condemned for

*“ His opposition to American indepen-
 “ dence in the year 1778.—For his re-
 “ taining the question respecting his real
 “ sentiments upon that business, in as much
 “ obscurity as ever, when joined with the
 “ Rockingham party.”*

It must be remembered, that on this subject there were three parties, who differed from each other in their sentiments respecting the best mode of closing the contest to advantage.

The first, were for pursuing coercive measures in subjugating the colonists to the mother country; and insisted also, on unconditional submission.

The second, were for adopting every American idea, and sacrificing the interests of their country to the unlimited notions of American independence.

The third, of which number was Lord Shelburne, took the middle line; they were for allowing them every indulgence, redressing every grievance, preserving at the same time every liberal connexion with this country.—And this seemed indeed the natural wish of every man, who was desirous of supporting the consequence of this nation, and rendering it glorious and formidable. The moderate subordination of America to England, which they would have acceded to, would have given strength to the union;—the ties of interest would naturally have increased the attachment;—and whatever mild commercial restrictions

strictions were laid upon the former by the latter, so that they could have been preserved without violence, the more permanent would have been the continuance of that connexion.

This was the principle of the great political luminary, Lord Chatham.—It seems also to have been the opinion of Lord Shelburne, that America should not have been given up, if by any rational means it could have been retained. And however obscurely the noble Earl is represented to cloak his sentiments respecting the matter in question; it does not appear so either from his former assertions, or recent conduct.

In the Year 1778, he openly avowed himself an enemy to American independence. In 1782 he does not profess himself a favourer of the project, “ *his sentiments remain in obscurity.*” This clearly evinces, that having not declared any alteration in opinion with respect to that point, it ought to have been concluded,

ded, he still remained averse to the measure; otherwise he would have taken the earliest opportunity of convincing the warm partisans with whom he was united in office, that he was perfectly conformable to their wishes—he would not have suffered a doubt to haunt their bosoms, but wiped away every cause of suspicion.

In the third article the noble Earl is accused

“ *Of writing a letter officially, WHICH*
 “ *HAS NEVER SEEN LIGHT, to Sir Guy*
 “ *Carlton, by which that officer was in-*
 “ *duced to declare the American indepen-*
 “ *dency, already irreversibly recognized by*
 “ *the Court of London; by which he ap-*
 “ *pears to have deceived all his brother*
 “ *Ministers without exception, and by*
 “ *which Mr. Fox was induced to make*
 “ *the same declaration with General Carl-*
 “ *ton to all the foreign Courts, and to*
 “ *come forward in the House of Commons*
 “ *peremptorily to affirm, there was not a*
 “ *second*

“ *second opinion in the cabinet upon this*
 “ *interesting subject ; when a week from*
 “ *this time he found the noble Earl decla-*
 “ *ring that nothing had been ever further*
 “ *from his thoughts, than any unconditi-*
 “ *onal recognition, and successfully exert-*
 “ *ing himself to bring over a majority of*
 “ *the cabinet to the opposite sentiment.*”

The author here, writing expressly in favor of Mr. Fox and his friends, should have been extremely cautious how he rested his attack of Lord Shelburne on the words of his antagonist. It is the same as to make a man in a civil action, judge, party, and evidence in his own cause ; nor is this the only genuine rule of law, set aside in this case.

The author tells us the letter *never saw the light*, and yet he argues from it with as much readiness, as if it lay open before him.—Granting Mr. Fox to state fairly his own ideas concerning it, may he not have misconceived
 Lord

Lord Shelburne's idea on the subject? May not General Carlton have misunderstood the letter? By every fair rule of arguing we have a right to say they did till that letter has been laid before the public. Surely the noble Earl may be supposed to understand himself, for it is the utmost injustice, not to say cruelty, to condemn a man, as guilty of duplicity, because you misconceive his ideas, and he refuses to subscribe to your opinion.

And hence we find Lord Shelburne in the

Fourth article condemned

*“ For OBTAINING, or ACCEPTING
“ the office of first Lord of the Treasury,
“ upon the demise of Lord Rockingham,
“ without the privity of his fellow-mini-
“ sters.”*

Unpardonable ingenerosity! to acquire what others were gaping for:—
to

to tumble down the whole pile of political architecture, the labor of twenty years!

This was the crime of all crimes—the Premiership was obtained,—THE SOVEREIGN HAD BEEN DARING ENOUGH TO DISPOSE OF IT WITHOUT MR. FOX'S PERMISSION. I shall answer this by asking—Was there a man in the whole group, who wished not to have obtained it by the same means, had he the expectation of a similar support to that, on which the noble Earl had a right to presume? or, had it been offered to any one of them under the like circumstances, who would have refused it? Not one. Obedience to the wishes of his Prince would have wove a secure pretext; and he would have bestowed the courtly smile of cordiality on the murmurings of his political associates.—The COALITION affords us AMPLE PROOFS in support of the supposition.

Article the fifth censures him

“ For appearing an enthusiastical partizan for aristocracy—his fear of reducing the regal power to a shadow—and expressing his desire, that the extension of prerogative, should keep pace with the confirmation of popular rights.”

It has before been said that in the perfect unity of the three states, depends the purity of government. If this dogma be true, which we have never heard disputed; can he be esteemed guilty of offence, or incapacitated for conducting the affairs of this kingdom, who wishes to preserve that proper order in the different departments of the state, with dignity, and justice? Surely not. The article declares his desire for the confirmation of the people's rights; and what can be expected more? Do the people aim at,—do they wish for a subversion of the present government? We will venture to assert, he cannot be a friend to his country, who has the most distant

distant intention of giving assistance in such a cause.

The confirmation of the people's rights is the very utmost wish of every *true* Patriot—Faction has never gone beyond the *pretence of their infringement*; nor breathed forth a whisper but for their establishment.

In all the inflammatory declamations to the people, we have heard the most violent, the most enthusiastic speakers, urge only the maintainance of those rights; they wished not to go further, (that only belongs to daring, inconsiderate madmen); and are not the rights of the King and his Peers to be included? Have they not as just a claim to their limited privileges, whatever they are, and property, as other men? Shall the rights of every undignified individual be defended, and their's invaded? It cannot be intended; it is neither consonant to reason, justice, or policy. The word right equally be-

longs to all. What particular declarations has the noble Earl made respecting the aristocratical power inconsistent with the constitution? his famous words relative to the crown are known to every one. Will any friend of constitutional liberty,—will even Mr. Fox himself say, that the King of England should be a King of Mah-rattas? No! The constitution ought to be preserved;—and we no where find the noble Earl losing sight of the idea; he has in no one instance shewn a wish to oppress, but support the people; and this appears obviously in the

Sixth charge brought against him, where it is said

*“ In opposition he made decisive decla-
 “ rations in favour of parliamentary re-
 “ form—In administration he took par-
 “ ticular care to explain away these de-
 “ clarations, and assured the people he
 “ would never employ any influence in sup-
 “ port of the measure, but countenance it
 “ so*

*“ so far as it appeared to be the sense of
“ the parliament.”*

The author here accuses Lord Shelburne for refusing to promote parliamentary reform by influence. What does the author mean by the word? an influence arising from bribery, that secret political influence of which the nation has with so much justice complained, because it has suffered so cruelly by it—Or the influence of abilities, friendship, and public support? If the former, the non-application is certainly much to the honor of Lord Shelburne; if the latter, the author accuses the noble Earl unjustly, as we find him both in and out of parliament, strenuously urging the necessity of the reform. The author then can only mean the first kind of influence;—and let us even for a moment grant the truth of his assertion, that it is a crime not to support the parliamentary reform by applying the public money to corrupt the representatives of the people—
a prin-

a principle the most extraordinary in nature except that of the coalition. Is not Mr. Fox still more guilty than the noble Earl, by joining with those men who are professed enemies to parliamentary reform; and by advancing them again to power, contributing to blast the wishes of the people, perhaps by those very means which on former occasions have been but too successfully exerted against the independence of parliament.

In article the Seventh it is alleged

*“ That his administration with the
“ Rockingham party was auspicious;”*
but his share of that public benefit is attempted to be counterbalanced, by
*“ his disposing of two or three sine-cure
“ places and pensions to his particular
“ friends.”*

And what does this prove?

That the sinecures were now to remain;—the pensions to be disposed of,
not

not cut off, consistent with the promised plan of national œconomy—the burthen of the people was not to be lightened by their rescision ; what consequence was it then to them, who were the occupiers ?

Had it been proposed entirely to have extirpated them, and Lord Shelburne had opposed it for the purpose of bestowing them upon his favourites, he would have been culpable ; but matters being otherwise agreed, the only thing that can be said respecting Lord Shelburne, is, that the activity of his friendship got the better of the Marquis's, “ EXCESS OF MILDNESS AND SIMPLICITY ” (of which he is said to have a large proportion,) an event which adds much to the honor and integrity of the noble Lord.

Men, who had laboured in the vineyard, and exerted their abilities for a series of years in bringing about a change, which was considered to be the very salvation

vation of the nation, merited some reward; it cannot be doubted but the noble Earl, as well as the Marquis had made various promises to that purport; and certainly when in their power, it became an indispensable duty to perform them; and he ought to be looked upon as the most meritorious who was the most industrious in ratifying their obligations; and had the Marquis provided for his two hundred dependents and assistants, (for such a number graced his list), where such a provision had not occasioned an additional load to his country, in places, which were agreed should not be relinquished, who would not have applauded him? Certainly Col. Barre and Mr. Dunning merited some recompence—the first had lost his sight in the service of his country, the other had distinguished himself against general warrants, and both had contributed equally to promote the welfare of the people and honor of the nation at the expence of private ease and emolument.

The

The Eighth allegation informs us,

*“When Premier, he neglected the interest
“ of the people, by having his attention
“ engrossed, in a considerable degree, by the
“ petty arrangement of office;—making
“ out for one man a certain department of
“ business; the place had been previously
“ filled by another :—promoting the first,
“ and gratifying the second by a pension;
“ —detaching a comis from this depart-
“ ment; fixing a clerk on that; and thus
“ heaping burthen after burthen upon the
“ shoulders of a callous, and lethargic
“ people.”*

We can see no reason why these charges, insignificant in themselves *prima facie*, should be brought forward, unless with intent to swell the catalogue, of what the writer would wish to persuade the world, were offences;—and, like adding a grain of sand to the burthen of an animal loaded to the utmost extent of his power, by that means destroy him. But so far from effecting the

G desired

desired end, that they contribute to prove the noble Earl wise—generous—and just.

It is perhaps from the slightest concerns in a man's conduct, we may form the clearest opinion of his merits or demerits—In affairs of the greatest moment, men are generally guarded—suspicious—deliberative—critically nice in forming plans—cautiously slow in executing them—in those of less weight, honest—open—and no further careful than what common discretion requires.—It is from these considerations we think it necessary to animadvert on what has been said above of the noble Earl.

Every man initiated into office, where he must answer for the errors of his agents would certainly place such under him, whose abilities he had tried—whose assiduity he could depend upon—and in whose fidelity he could place the most implicit confidence—this is the effect of prudence and wisdom;—whilst
justice

justice and generosity only can urge him to make proper provision for those who were deprived of their emolument from his desire of procuring to himself confidential assistants.—If wisdom, justice and generosity are crimes, they fall heavy on the head of Lord Shelburne from this author's account;—but the intent is obvious, and the means of attempting to compleat it too trifling to dwell upon. How little the charge of neglecting the public business is founded in fact, let the political manœuvre of detaining the Dutch in Port, and the relief of Gibraltar bear witness.

But we come now to the last article,

*“Where he condemns the noble Earl
“for restoring peace to this country.”*
As a condemnation it stands here—notwithstanding, what he says in the concluding sentences—Which we shall copy *verbatim*, lest we should be accused of misrepresentation.

*“ Besides all this, he has restored
 “ peace to this country. His merits in
 “ this business have already been agitated.
 “ To examine them a fresh will lead me
 “ too far from the scope of my subject.
 “ I will not now therefore detain myself
 “ either to exculpate, or criminate the
 “ minister, to whom, whatever they are,
 “ they are principally to be ascribed.”*

If this was not intended as an accusation, why was it named? It closes the list of the noble Earl's offences. But the mere mention of it our author imagined would answer his purpose better, than speaking of the necessity, or going in to the merits. From the vote of disapprobation in the House of Commons, he concludes the minds of the people sufficiently impressed with an idea of its weakness. But the mode of that vote's being procured, and the complexion of the male-contents are by no means arguments of any weight. The popular opinion relative to that transaction is every day more and more favourable,

favourable,—so far are the generality of the people from reprobating it, that they consider the terms of pacification honorable—superior to what we had a right to expect as it was a peace of necessity—nay every impartial man is fully satisfied with it.

Let us consider our situation at the time Lord Shelburne entered into the negociation with the belligerent powers.

“ The cry of the people was *una*
 “ *voce* for peace—The man of the peo-
 “ ple loudly called out for peace at any
 “ rate. We were distracted by internal
 “ divisions—Our enemies determined
 “ and firm—In Europe we had not
 “ only the French—the Dutch—and the
 “ Spaniards combined against us—but
 “ the ill offices, and the ill wishes of
 “ all the neutral powers.—In America
 “ our fleets from the strength of the
 “ French islands, and our want of
 “ troops cruized only to exhaust the
 “ resources of their country.—A storm
 was

“ was gathering in the East ;—no peace
 “ concluded with the Mahrattas ;—
 “ Hyder’s army had rendered the Car-
 “ natic one universal scene of slaughter
 “ and famine ; and though we had
 “ gained some victories over him,—he
 “ retreated but to turn back more dread-
 “ ful on his pursuers.”—‘ These were
 ‘ strengthened at home by the calamity
 ‘ of a severe, and unfruitful season ;—
 ‘ such was the failure of the harvest,
 ‘ that two important objects of revenue,
 ‘ the malt tax, and duty upon hops,
 ‘ were uncommonly defective ; the poor
 ‘ were threatened with a scarcity, which,
 ‘ it was feared, might amount to little
 ‘ less than a famine before the return of
 ‘ autumn ; and who knew what might
 ‘ have been the consequence of war and
 ‘ famine united ?’ * add to these, from
 being engaged in a ten years unsuccessful
 war, our supplies began to be raised with
 difficulty ; the springs of the national
 power were improperly forced ; and the

* Parliamentary Register—Debate on the Peace, &c.
 advan-

advantages we expected from our victories, served only to hide the precipice near which we approached.

These certainly were most urgent motives to promote a peace;—all parties coincided in the absolute necessity;—to that necessity our Ministers very wisely, and prudently subscribed:—nor do we find, if we disregard the voice of faction, that it diffused any dissatisfaction. A majority of the House of Lords determined in its favour;—men combined for the sole purpose of destroying the power of the Premier, only reprobated it. The country in general considered it as a peace beyond our right of expectation, on comparing it with some we have made, when our arms were crowned with conquest, and we stood forth the envy and terror of Europe. Congratulatory addresses, unsolicited, have spoken the sense of different cities and counties on the occasion;—and the commercial interest of this kingdom, that interest by which we must be supported in our consequence

sequence and dignity, views it with smiles of approbation, and feels already the sweets of its influence.

We have not the least doubt but every impartial man, and to such only we appeal, upon perusing what is here advanced in favor of Lord Shelburne, will be perfectly satisfied of the futility and illiberality of the charges brought against him, and will think with us, that so far from amounting to any disqualification, they will rather prove him competent to the task of conducting our affairs with prudence, justice and wisdom;—and that the Rockingham connexion merits by no means the exclusive right of political monopoly.

We shall beg leave to take a view of the second administration of the Rockingham party, as it is only connected with our present subject, and see upon what grounds our author builds his singular and favourite proposition. We shall there discover him wantoning in
unme-

unmerited praise,—lavish of adulatory encomiums,—attributing good effects to wrong causes,—and rather the pander than protector of party.

The first laurel with which he binds their brows, arises from their “*grant-
ing full relief to Ireland.*”

Was it to be refused, situated as we were at that time? It was in their own power to obtain it *vi & armis*;—indeed the political champion of Ireland knew it so well, that it was asked by one of their leaders,—what Irishman does not smile at the misfortunes of England? Humanity may drop the tear of pity,—but interest bids us seize the moments of calamity, and rescue ourselves from shameful bondage. Where lay the merit,—in the acquiescence of the Ministers,—or in the resolution of the people of that kingdom? We were in no situation to enforce our authority; we were already oppressed almost beyond support; the arms of resistance were in their
H hands;

hands; and the hour was come, when our inability made their courage wisdom, and prudence roused their fortitude to action;—they obeyed the dictates, were determined, and conquered.—As well may we boast of merit in granting America independence, as Ireland full relief.

The next, “*from passing several most important bills of œconomy and reformation.*”

In forming our opinions of the goodness, or badness of any actions, we should consider them in a two-fold sense with respect to the community, and with regard to the agents;—the consequences with the former—with the latter, the motives delineate their nature. It must be allowed, that any bill, by which the expenditure of public money is intended to be lessened at a time, when the finances are almost too small for the state necessities, and the people are perpetually experiencing the weight of additional taxes,

taxes, carries along with it the appearance of prudence and utility ;—and had resolution and justice persevered in the execution, it would 'have been praise worthy ; but when we find the same men afterwards joining with the professed enemies of œconomy, and assisting them in overturning the œconomical plans of the noble Earl, only because those plans were more liberal and more efficacious ; we cannot but judge, that selfish motives, not public good first impelled them to the reform, of which this writer boasts ;—certainly had they been adopted to the extent the authors of them first intended, meanness and confusion would have been the consequence ; the dignity of the crown would have been diminished ; for whilst the enemies of the Sovereign were ransacking his dominions, these advocates for reform, were making inroads on his wardrobe, clearing his kitchen of supernumerary pots, kettles, &c.—reducing his tables,—contriving modes for Majesty's being fed by contract, and descending to such trifling par-

ticulars as were both ridiculous, and disgraceful,—when at the same time, sinecures, pensions, and fees of office exorbitant and useless were suffered to remain; and soon after to shower their blessings on the heads of those, who were most busily employed in discharging of King's cooks, and making mean and scandalous arrangements in his domestic concerns.

As for their abolishing the vote of Custom-house officers at elections for Members of Parliament;—passing the Contractors bill;—and attempting to establish a more equal representation of the people;—however right they may be, when we look back to the cause of abolition,—the situation and wishes of those, who set the schemes on foot, together with the time of their being accomplished,—the suspension of more material business, during their progression, and the general confusion they occasioned,—we can by no means join that
praise,

praise, which fills the mouth of every head-strong partizan.

For it must be observed, that these were set on foot, whilst the Rockingham interest were out of office,—intended to annoy the Ministers by weakening their power; they had pledged themselves to the people to clear the Augean Stable; hence it was impossible for them not to pursue the measures, when in office, without forfeiting all public confidence.—Had we found them still pushing on with vigour in their line of conduct, we might have been led to believe them sincere in their professions, and honest in their intentions,—*sed tempora mutantur*.—Ministers at that period, according to their creed, were to be left defenceless,—Ministers now are to be protected.—The plan of reformation has become tardy in its progress;—administration will now find, as heretofore, the necessity of support;—similar measures must be adopted without they can sweep corruption from the state, and make such a revolution

tion in the tide of human affairs, which honest men may wish for ;—but statesmen will scarce pretend to ;—perhaps the coalition has that in contemplation ;—perhaps the coalition was framed for that wise purpose.—We should not wonder, if we were told so.

What are these wondrous wonders accomplished by this glorious administration ?

That they have made concession, they could not resist,—and have acted uniformly for party, in preference to national interest.

The relief of Ireland they could not avoid.—Æconomy and reformation, were nothing more than state traps, baited only for the rats of the constitution they wished to destroy, in order to enjoy their situations quickly and securely ;—and the rest of the abolitions contrived to encrease their power, that they might gain strength to climb the ladder of preferment ;

ferment;—and indeed it is clear, that their whole endeavours were directed by selfish views; and popularity was the grand instrument, by which they expected to arrive at every gratification;—for we see not one effort of theirs which was not directed to that end.

One good they have done, which we hope will be never forgot;—they have taught the people the use of associations, and committees of communication, to be a check upon the actions of Ministers.—They have told the people they ought not to be trifled with.—The people will no doubt remember it; they should now double their activity,—watch every motion of this motley administration;—for where subtlety and cunning are united to plausibility and boldness, what may not a nation fear? When men can publicly desert every principle of honor,—run counter to every political professed opinion;—fly in the face of their constituents;—
and

and unite themselves contradictory to every rule of faith or public virtue;—the people are insecure;—their rights in danger;—and they have nothing to depend upon but their own attention, industry, and resolution.

Not satisfied with taking his favourites as a collective body, the author separates some few, in hopes of adding strength to what he has already advanced.—We will follow him gently;—not with intent of taking from him the merits of all he has chosen to specify, but with a view of drawing a fair comparison,—leaving the world to determine betwixt us.

His first character, is the present Chancellor of the Exchequer,—he says, “ *he is entirely an unique.*” We grant it, from the crown of his hat; to the sole of his shoe;—he loads him “ *with integrity and honor,—unspotted from the world.*”—God forbid that we should attempt to lessen the pleasant burthen; but

but what has become of his abilities?—
It was convenient to forget them.—We
will not awaken the dead,—but advert
to

The late Chancellor of the Exchequer,—who has never deviated from the path of those virtues,—whilst his intellectual powers rank him with the first statesmen of this age.

In council he is honest, and determined;—in argument acute, forcible, clear, and conclusive;—in office, assiduous, just, and penetrating and capable;—in politics candid, discerning,—a lover of his King;—a supporter of the rights of the people;—knowledge of the world, makes him prudent, and goodness of heart, fearless.

Of the Duke of Portland, *“ he knows
“ little;—his candor and honor have ne-
“ ver been questioned;—but his abili-
“ ties have been particularly vouched in
“ very strong terms.”*

How does he prove it?—"By Lord
 " *Sydney's saying, that he should have*
 " *been better satisfied with the appoint-*
 " *pointment of his Grace to the office he*
 " *now holds, than he was with the noble*
 " *Lord under whom he acted."*

With deference however to Lord Sydney, we are not inclined to form our opinions from his judgment.—Those, whom this proof may satisfy, it would be cruel to disturb;—thinking must be painful;—be good nature and credibility their portion.

Our contrast is Lord Shelburne; one of the best qualified men for the Premiership of whom this country can boast, where depending on our own knowlege is no crime.—His life has been one continued series of study;—his faculties quick;—his penetration keen and discerning;—his debates in the senate replete with information, and sound reason;—his sentences animated, and pointed;—his knowlege diffusive;—few men are so well
 versed

versed in the constitution; few men better acquainted with its dependencies;—in every department intelligent, and active;—his thirst for information, unbounded;—dissatisfied with superficial surveys of things, perplexity but increases his resolution; nor does the intenseness of application weary his thoughts;—he has been called “*dark,—infidious,—and*” “*inexplicit in his designs.*” His long observations of mankind, makes him prudent;—his converse with courtiers, cautious;—and experience has taught him secrecy is the best security, where schemes are complex, and jealous interest are ripe for opposition.

The character of Lord Keppel, has ever been drawn to us with that tameness of colouring, that we should be sorry to spoil the simplicity of the picture, and therefore must leave him, according to his panegyrist’s account, “*no contemptible public speaker of compulsion, and*” “*master of much beauty of composition,*” and advert to

Lord Howe, whom nature, and experience have formed for a brave commander; he has given repeated proofs of his possessing courage and prudence in an eminent degree;—the late relief of Gibraltar is a glorious example of what has been asserted above.

We come now to Mr. Fox; whom the author distinguishes to the following effect:

He allows him *“ a man of dissipation,
 “ with unbounded generosity as an apology;
 “ possessing greater excellencies than Lord
 “ Bolingbroke, without any of the defects;
 “ his passions never embroiling the affairs
 “ of his party, but uniformly retaining the
 “ confidence of them all; his friendship so-
 “ lid, and unshaken; his conduct cool and
 “ intrepid; above the littleness of jea-
 “ lousy.—In office more constant, and in-
 “ defatigable than Lord Bolingbroke him-
 “ self; not ambitious, but of fame, and
 “ the opportunity of serving his country;
 “ with a certain manliness about him,
 “ that*

*“ that disdains to mislead,—whilst candor
 “ and sincerity,—bluntness of manner,—
 “ and an unstudied air are conspicuous in
 “ all he does.”*

We are sorry we cannot coincide with the author of this delineation; for in following the honorable Commoner through all the labyrinths of his political conduct, he has ever appeared in a very different light.

We have ever observed him,

Violent,—and turbulent;—designing; ambitious;—with more rhetorical artifice, than public honesty;—as for his private virtues, or vices if he has any;—his manly airs, and graces, they come not under our consideration; they may please his limner, and amuse his moral instructor, to whom we bequeath them, and proceed to prove our opinion.

And first examine his speeches.—Are they not replete with the most vehement
 expref-

expressions our language can supply him with? Has he not bestowed the terms of butchers and murderers on the favourers of the American war? Has he not perpetually laboured to inflame the minds of the people, by prophetic dreams, which were never realized? Has he not carried threats even to the House of Commons?

Second. Did he not in all his harangues, direct his declaration to the passions of the people? Whatever tax they experienced the most severely, on that place where they felt it most, did he not bring his argument always to that point? Did he not adopt his ideas to such things as were most likely effectually to rouse the people? Did he not represent the house tax as a crying enormity? Were not his conclusions always reduced to his favourite wish, the dissolution of administration? Does not the coalition speak this charge incontestibly true?

Third.

Third. Men, who are avaricious of acquiring wealth, may be truly so for different purposes—and he, who is dissipated, and requires larger supplies for the gratification of profusion than his own finances will supply him with, must of necessity have more avidity about him than he ought; and this species of avarice is generally the most rapacious;—The love of pleasure ill brooks restraint, and commits ten thousand indefensible errors, amongst the number of which, that unwarrantable desire of money is the foremost, and always haunts the man of libertine principles in the state above described. If so, can Mr. Fox steer clear of the charge?—It must be acceded to.

Fourth. Public honesty always represents facts as they are; does not warp them in order to put on the appearance most suitable to answer the purposes of those who describe them, that is the province of oratorical artifice.—Does not Mr. Fox stand in this
predi-

predicament? certainly. The ignorance—guilt—and infamy of ministers, however judicious their plans, were for ever his constant theme. Whatever our successes, the calamity of his country, the hobby-horse of his elocution. Our defeats were destruction—Our victories ruinous;—Our ministers were pusillanimous,—Our ministers were blood-thirsty;—They were ignorant and indolent;—They were subtle—Indefatigable, and active;—In fine, whatever was most likely to please the ears of the people, and increase their discontent, to that he applied his rhetoric; and in a multiplicity of his harrangues on comparing them, the most glaring contradictions may be found;—there we may trace in the strongest coloring the disappointed demagogue, broaching mischiefs hatched by fertile imagination, and pouring forth insidious hyperboles with something more than manly courage.

From

From whatever point we survey the first proposition of this writer, it cannot keep its ground, but the closer it is examined, the more defenceless it appears, whether from the principles and abilities of Lord Shelburne—The success of the second administration of the Rockingham connexion, in which if there is any excellence it must be remembered the noble Earl had his share, or from a comparison of the capabilities of those who form the present, with those who might have composed a different administration. We now come to his second proposition.

*“ That the Rockingham connexion were
 “ not by themselves of sufficient strength to
 “ support the weight of administration.”*

The arguments on this head are truly whimsical. The writer, tells us, after saying “ *Luxury and dissipation,*” (to which he allows his heroe no common devotee) “ *have loosened the bonds of political union.*”

K

Disn-

*“ Disinterested affection seems to have
“ taken up her last refuge in a few choice
“ spirits, and elevated minds, who appear
“ among us like inhabitants of another
“ world.”*

Among the number of whom he must necessarily rank Lord North, because he says, *“ a connexion with him,
“ it was most natural—most wise—and
“ most virtuous for the Rockingham party
“ to adopt.”*

Let us see his own words relative to the noble Lord in the blue ribbon.

*“ Whatever may be his intrinsic abilities,
“ he stands forward as, perhaps,
“ the most unfortunate minister—of the
“ HIGHEST MONARCHICAL principles;
“ in spite of misfortune adhering IN-
“ FLEXIBLY to that assertion;—In all
“ the most critical situations hesitating,
“ and uncertain;—Versatile, and undis-
“ guisedly attached to emolument and
“ power.”*

From

From the principles which appear to have been adopted, and from the character given, by this writer, of Lord North; the connexion must strike every man as the most unwise—unnatural, and the most unjust that could have been conceived.

Let us put the whole into few words.

The Rockingham Party are friends	}	Lord North is a Friend
to Extensive liberty		to the highest monarchic principles,
OEconomy Reform		an enemy to reform and œconomy
are Wise Auspicious Uniform		hesitating and uncertain unfortunate versatile
and		
Just		avaricious and ambitious

Must it not stare every man in the face as the greatest absurdity; that an union must be formed between men the most diametrically opposite in principle,—of all parties which at that time existed:—men determined, avowed

friends to monarchy, contradictory to the wish of the people—to whom they have declared their utmost abhorrence;—and positive enemies to that reform, which the nation expected at the hands of a new administration?

However strenuously the advocates for the coalition may labor to defend the step;—Under whatever species of argument they may pretend to cover it, it will ever appear monstrous in the extreme; and can never be submitted to; but as long as it does continue murmurings, disgust, and opposition, must be expected from a people so properly incensed, and so justly roused. In order however to render the matter as palatable as possible, they insinuate, “*they were not the men, whose services were likely to be called for by their Sovereign.*”

If they really thought so, why not have shewn a noble firmness of mind on the occasion, and rather than form a
junc-

junction with a party, whose principles were odious and obnoxious to the people; whose conduct had been ruinous, joined in support of those, who had the people's confidence? The reason is clear, which for all their boasted honor, openness, candor, and un sullied integrity they dare not allow: such a generous, patriotic resolve would have retarded their journey to preferment—It proves itself beyond the shadow of a doubt. To that darling idol they therefore sacrificed all honor, every promise, all fortitude, and meanly mounted the helm, by prostituting every manly virtue.

It will be unnecessary to say any thing more on the present subject; as we flatter ourselves, we have fully proved, to the satisfaction of every inquirer of moderation and candor, what we first undertook;—we shall therefore only beg leave to trespass on the patience of our readers a little, whilst we recapitulate
the

the heads, and then conclude our subject.

What we contend for is,

That the Rockingham connexion is not the only one by which the country could be well served,—if liberal sentiments,—respectable abilities,—and incorruptible integrity are the requisites to form a *good* administration;—for on comparison, we have found men equal in the less, and infinitely superior in the most essential qualifications for executing that trust,—with wisdom,—honor,—and success.—That the accusations against Lord Selburne are not true, but artfully brought forward to deceive the people.

That the Rockingham connexion have uniformly laboured in opposition to delude the people,—perplex and confuse government by internal commotions in the hour of external misfortune;—have made a fool of the public;—excited popular

pular clamour,—and distracted a nation for the sole purpose of private emolument. Which though long doubted, is now a certainty, from their forming a junction with men, whose conduct and principles were obnoxious to the people, and ruinous to their rights and liberty;—who were the only parties existing, that the people trembled at and abhorred; nay, whom the Rockingham connexion held up as villainous, and execrable, in opposition to those who had acquired the public confidence, and warm wishes;—men of unimpeached integrity, and extensive abilities.

That their excuse of considering-themselves not of sufficient strength to support the weight of administration,—as well as that of supposing themselves not men, whose services were likely to be called for by the sovereign,—is futile,—absurd,—and contemptible, and can by no means authorize them to call
the

the coalition the most natural,—the most wise,—and most virtuous which could be formed,—as it is evidently the reverse; for in both these cases, there was a remedy which would have been grateful to the people; have saved their own honour, and endeared them to the whole kingdom.—Instead of which, they have confessed themselves shameless;—rendered themselves for ever unworthy the peoples confidence and protection;—and have proved.

“ That, as they have united for the
 “ detested purposes of ambition, we can
 “ have no security for any thing which
 “ remains.—*That they have arrived at*
 “ *the utmost reach of frontless profligacy;*
 “ *and that no dependence can be had on*
 “ *the man, who has given the lie to all*
 “ *his professions, and impudently flown in*
 “ *the face of that honest virtue, which had*
 “ *given him credit for the rectitude of his*
 “ *intention,*” which he has now so flagrantly abused.

And

And that as we are thus situated, no effort should be left untried to supplant men who dare make principles only a mere prelude to preferment; in whose hands the liberties of the people must be ever insecure, whenever power, or state subtlety will condescend to throw temptation in the way of their avarice or ambition.

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